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A socio-economic impact analysis of cultural diversity

Research Memorandum 2011-12

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A SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT ANALYSIS OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY

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Abstract

This paper aims to map out the consequences of migration flows for modern cities, and in particular it analyses various aspects of urban cultural diversity. It argues that the sustainable and innovative development of cities under conditions of creative cultures is possible, and it presents a ‘pentagon model’ as an analytical tool for investigating the necessary conditions for achieving a balanced and thriving urban development. The paper also pays attention to the socio-economic aspects of urban pluriformity caused by the emergence of ethnic or migrant entrepreneurs. The paper presents an integrated overview of the advantages and drawbacks of cultural diversity in relation to mass migration inflows into modern cities. A major part of the paper is devoted to the positive and negative socio-economic implications of cultural diversity. To that end, a series of extensive survey tables is provided. Finally, the relationship between diversity and innovativeness is addressed.

1. Cultural Diversity and the Urban Melting Pot

Cities are dynamic centres of human activity due to their centripetal and centrifugal agglomeration forces. They are also the geographical landmarks of human mobility, in particular migration (be it temporary or structural). Migration is one of the most studied subjects in the social and behavioural sciences (e.g. demography, sociology, geography, economics). Several academics speak nowadays of the ‘age of migration’, and this suggests that mankind is structurally ‘on the move’. But it ought to be recognized that, since the early history of mankind people have always exhibited nomadic behaviour. Urban settlement patterns have only been a predominant phenomenon in the past few thousand years. Clearly, exogenous shocks (such as wars, natural disasters or famine) might temporarily create an intensified tendency towards geographical mobility and migration. This forms a contrast with the present, where migration is increasingly an endogenous response to normal market conditions, a phenomenon that is strongly co-determined by our open and globalizing economy, with free movement of labour (as in the EU).

Europe has displayed a number of interesting demographic trends over the past centuries: in the year 1900, Europe still had a share in the world population of about 20 per cent; this share went down to some 10 per cent in the year 2000, and it will most likely be no more than 5 per cent by the end of this century. But also at the intra-European level, significant changes have taken place: Europe was an emigration region until the 1960s, but from that period important South-North migration flows began to emerge (the period of the ‘gastarbeiter’). This created a multicultural diversity in many European countries, although the composition of foreign migrants over the decades has changed significantly. In the past decade we have witnessed a strong East to West migration, as a result of the fall of the ‘iron curtain’ and other geo-political and socio-economic circumstances in Central- and Eastern Europe (see also Nijkamp, 2010).

Most foreign migrants have settled down in centres of economic activity, mainly in urban areas in Western Europe, often in the form of ethnic, socio-cultural, or national clusters. Their long-term position on the labour market has sometimes appeared to be weak, characterized by high unemployment rates (even among the second generation), which has led to increasing socio-economic and ethnic tensions in the city. The European city became a multicultural melting pot, a phenomenon already known in North America for decades (Jacobs, 1961). Although this phenomenon may suggest that migration in Western Europe has mainly negative effects, the facts may be different. In the first place, labour migration may bring important competitive advantages for the host region (see de Graaff and de Groot, 2004). Next, the assumption that labour immigration creates crowding-out effects is not supported by the statistics (Longhi et al., 2008). And finally, many foreign migrants appear to possess excellent entrepreneurial skills and

are responsible for a flourishing SME sector in many cities (these are known as ethnic or migrant entrepreneurs, and will be discussed later in this paper). Thus, it is necessary to critically review the one-sided emphasis on the negative effects of immigrants.

From the above perspective, it is evident that, in an open world, modern cities will by necessity turn into heterogeneous settlements, with an unprecedented cultural diversity among their inhabitants. The sense of local identity of cities or regions will undergo a change, and the question is whether out of this diversity a new common sense of cultural identity will emerge. Does cultural diversity provide a positive contribution to the vitality of cities? Is the expression 'E Pluribus Unum' on the American dollar banknote a sign of hope for the city? Does diversity stimulate creative cities? These questions will be addressed in the next section where we will focus on urban creative cultures.

2. Creative Cultures in Cities

Our world is increasingly moving towards an urban world. Cities are not just geographical settlements of people, they are also the 'home of man' (Ward, 1976). They reflect the varied history of mankind and are at the same time contemporaneous expressions of the diversity of human responses to future challenges. Modern cities manifest themselves in many ways, as business centres, as attraction points for arts and culture, as knowledge hubs in a global world, or as nodes of architectural creativeness. A great example of the way urban architecture reflects and shapes the future can be found in Dubai, a city that has deliberately left behind its old history and has decided to shape a spectacular new urban design and lifestyle. In doing so, it is trying to find a balance between economy, technology, society, and culture by deploying urban space as an action platform for accelerated economic growth, and by mobilizing all resources for elite lifestyles in the city. Dubai intends to become a symbol of creative architecture.

And Dubai is not an exception. Actually, modern urban planning is characterized by an avalanche of varying initiatives focussed on creative urban development, in particular by centring on culture and knowledge, and provides multi-faceted foundations for the innovative development of the city. Consequently, it has become fashionable to regard cultural expressions like the arts, festivals, exhibitions, media, communication and advertising, design, sports, digital expression and research as signposts for urban individuality and identity, and as original departures for a new urban cultural industry (see Florida, 2002; Scott, 2003). Currently, 'old' cities like London, Liverpool, Amsterdam, Berlin, Barcelona, New York, San Francisco, Sydney or Hong Kong are witnessing nowadays a profound transformation based on creative cultures. This new orientation not only provides a new dynamism for the city, but it also has a symbolic value by showing the historical strength of these places as the basics for a new and open future.

Clearly, static blueprint planning of the city has become outdated. Hence, the creative sector has become an important signpost for modern urban planning and architecture, with major implications for both the micro-structures of the city and the macro-image it presents to the outer world. Cities are no longer islands, but hubs in a multi-layer global network society.

Since Florida's original ideas on the creative class, the creative industries, and the creative city (for an overview, see Florida, 2002), a substantial number of studies have been undertaken to identify the features and success conditions of creative environments (see e.g. Gabe, 2006; Heilbrun and Gray, 1993; Hesmondhalgh, 2002; Landry, 2003; Markusen, 2006; Power and Scott, 2004; Pratt, 1997; Scott, 2003; Vogel, 2001). Despite several empirical studies, an operational conceptualization of creativity infrastructure and suprastructure has as yet not been developed, a situation which certainly calls for more profound applied research. This subject has now become important once again, as there is a growing awareness of and interest in the dynamics-enhancing impact of creative activities. Thus, there is a need for a solid and integrated impact analysis framework that is able to encompass and map out the multi-faceted effects of a creative and multicultural urban climate.

Undoubtedly, a main challenge of the modern fashion for creativeness is to translate creative and cultural assets and expressions into commercial values (value added, employment, visitors, etc.), which means that private-sector initiatives are a *sine qua non* for effective and successful urban creativeness strategies. Consequently, an orientation towards local identity and local roots ('the sense of place'), a prominent commitment of economic stakeholders (in particular, the private sector), and the creation of a balanced and appealing portfolio of mutually complementary urban activities are critical success conditions for a flourishing urban creativeness strategy. Owing to their agglomeration advantages, cities can offer a broad array of business opportunities for creative cultures, where in particular self-employment opportunities and small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) may play a central role in creating new urban vitality. Clearly, flanking and supporting urban conditions, e.g. local identity, an open and attractive urban 'milieu' or atmosphere, use of tacit knowledge, presence of urban embeddedness of new business initiatives, and access to social capital and networks, all provide additional opportunities for a booming urban creativeness culture and an innovative, vital and open urban social ecology. Urban creativeness presupposes an open and multi-faceted culture and policy. In the next section, we briefly discuss some critical success conditions for such promising new pathways.

3. Critical Success Factors for Sustainable Innovative Development

The modern urban fabric forms a complex dynamic system that is influenced by many endogenous and exogenous forces. In an open world dictated by global competitiveness, it is clear that cities are no longer islands of stable development, but are instead dynamic agglomerations operating in a force field where growth and decline are both possible. Cultural diversity may be a competitive asset to improve the socio-economic performance of cities, but if there are ethnic-cultural tensions it may hamper a balanced development. Which factors are decisive for sustainable city development that is able to cope with both local and global forces?

Numerous studies have been undertaken to identify the success and failure factors of urban growth and decline. From the ubiquitous literature on this issue we can basically extract five general background factors that, in one way or another, are decisive for the fate of a city. Here, we will present here a production function for urban sustainable innovative development based on a *pentagon* model with five critical success factors (CSFs). The *pentagon* model has been developed and applied in various previous studies on the performance conditions of complex systems such as transportation systems or urban energy systems (see Nijkamp et al., 1994; Capello et al., 1999; and van Leeuwen et al., 2011). For further details, the reader is referred to the above publications. In the framework of the present study on sustainable innovative development (SID), we distinguish the following five CSFs:

- The availability of *productive capital* (PC). This corresponds to neo-classical production theory, where output is determined by the traditional production factors labour and capital. Without a sound economic capital basis, the urban economy is bound to fail.
- The presence of *human capital* (HC). This factor refers to the quality of labour input obtained by means of education, training or new skills (e.g. in ICT), and may be seen as a productivity-enhancing factor. Clearly, a balanced distribution of human capital over the urban population is of great importance, while at the same time human capital has to show great heterogeneity in order to match the multi-faceted demands of the urban fabric.
- The access to *social capital* (SC). This condition comprises interaction and communication between people, socio-economic bonds, social support systems, business networks (formal and informal), relations based on trust, and so forth. Cities are networks and operate in networks of cities
- The use of *creative capital* (CC). This CSF may be seen as a great ability to cope with challenges and new opportunities, and is reflected in entrepreneurial spirit, new ways of thinking and acting, trend-setting artistic expressions, innovative foresights, etc. Such a factor is often found in a multicultural urban melting pot, and forms the basis for risk-taking and creative business.

- The existence of *ecological capital* (EC). This fifth condition takes for granted that a favourable quality of life, an ecologically-benign environment in a city, the presence of green space and water, or an attractive living milieu (e.g. recreation and entertainment possibilities) contribute significantly to the innovative and sustainable potential of the city. If cities wish to remain the ‘home of man’, the ecological paradigm has to be fully respected.

The above five CSFs can be depicted in the following pentagon presentation:

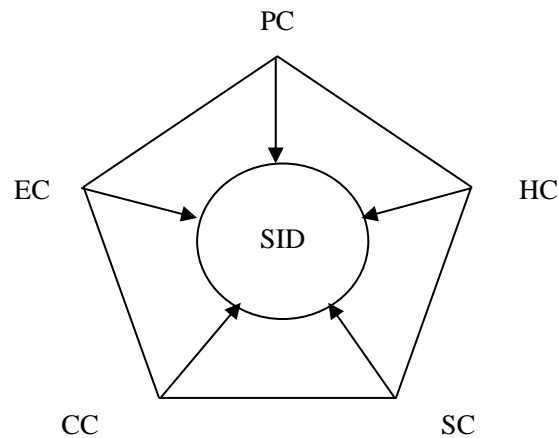


Figure 1. A pentagon presentation of urban sustainable creative forces

Clearly, the statistical testing on the validity of the pentagon model requires extensive some empirical fieldwork, either at the micro level of the various individual change agents in a given city or at the macro-/meso-level of a comparative analysis of the creative development of various cities. The pentagon model has been applied to various other cases and would need a comprehensive database to be fully tested in the context of urban cultural diversity. Later, in Sections 6 and 7 we put forward some preliminary ideas on the type of data that would be needed.

4. Creative Entrepreneurship in a Modern City

One of the fields where a considerable amount of some empirical research has been undertaken on the benefits of multicultural business activities is the area of migrant (or ethnic) entrepreneurship. The age of migration has led to a different population composition of cities in the developed world. In the past decades, many cities were flooded with waves of opportunity seekers, but many local labour markets were unable to accommodate this rising tide of workers.

At the same time, the SME sector in many cities (e.g. the retail sector) had great difficulties in coping with the competition from large supermarkets and department stores. This turbulent environment appeared to create favourable conditions for migrants with a business or entrepreneurial spirit, as they were able to exploit niche markets at reasonable costs. This has led to a massive change in the SME sector in many modern cities, where nowadays ethnic or migrant entrepreneurship is one of the most flourishing business activities that has really changed the face of the city (see Baycan-Levent et al., 2009; Dana, 2008; Kloosterman et al., 1999; Sahin et al., 2011).

In an open and global world characterized by a rising degree of urbanization, modern cities function as the habitat of international migrants and magnets of economic growth, in which SMEs are a source of new jobs, business dynamics and innovation. Migrant entrepreneurs form a significant part of the SME sector in our cities, and may hence be important vehicles for urban vitality. Usually, these migrant entrepreneurs have to work in an unfamiliar and risky business environment. However, they may tend to be risk-averse, and hence concentrate on traditional market segments (e.g. markets for ethnic products). Consequently, they may be less entrepreneurially-oriented in terms of risk attitudes with respect to undertaking innovative business activities. Reliance on the social networks of their own socio-cultural group may guarantee a certain market share, but may at the same time hamper an outreach strategy towards new and innovative markets (e.g. high-tech/ICT). Woolcock (1998) claimed that migrants' reliance on their own ethnic group and its related networks is both developmental and destructive. According to Menzies et al. (2003), an orientation on their own group can often be a benefit to migrant entrepreneurs. And Portes and Jensen (1989) referred to the effects of some degree of monopolistic power in migrant entrepreneurship regarding better access to a relatively protected market. Nevertheless, Lyster and Shapiro (1999) suggested that competition amongst migrant entrepreneurs serving the same limited market niche may increase businesses failure, especially if the market size is relatively small. Modern cities do indeed have a tendency to become great laboratories of creative entrepreneurship. But they may also become signposts for multicultural settlement patterns where diversity will generate high socio-economic and cultural benefits.

5. Pluriformity and Cultural Diversity

The cultural and socio-ethnic pluriformity of modern cities seems to undermine the sense of a common identity. Urban fragmentation is becoming a challenging new trend. For example, in restaurants in Miami it is sometimes impossible to use English to communicate with the staff. Cities do not only show cultural and ethnographic diversity but are also becoming multilingual

meeting places (cities as a modern ‘Babylon’) (see Extra and Yagmur, 2004). But even in countries with a generally common language (e.g. the Netherlands or Italy), we observe an increasing popularity of local dialects as a vehicle for showing a common identity (‘connotational value’). In this context, the region or city tends to become a geographic platform for establishing and showing a spatial-social identity. This shows that global openness and accessibility may run in parallel with closed and fragmented cultural niches.

One of the most important challenges facing modern societies is the increase in their social and cultural diversity, often also referred to as the ‘integration phenomenon’. Diversity has grown in most advanced countries, driven mostly by sharp increases in immigration. The impacts of migration on welfare in the receiving countries have become an important subject for debate in both migration studies and socioeconomic policies (Alesina and La Ferrara, 2005; Alesina et al., 2001; Angrist and Kugler, 2003; Bellini et al., 2008; Borjas, 1994, 1995, 2003; BIVS, 2006; Borjas et al., 1997; Boeri and Brücker, 2005; Collier, 2001; D’Amuri et al., 2008; Manacorda et al., 2006; Ottaviano and Peri, 2006a,b; Penninx et al., 2008; Ederveen et al., 2007).

It is noteworthy that issues regarding cultural diversity have already been studied for many decades in the social sciences, e.g. in the sociology of religion as developed by Max Weber (see also Osaba, 2008). Further interesting contributions to a better understanding of the role of culture in economics and the management sciences can be found, *inter alia*, in the works of Hofstede (1980, 1991); and see also Flytzani and Nijkamp (2008). From a macro-economic perspective, original contributions were offered by, amongst others, Olson (1983), who explained the rise and decline of nations with reference to the presence and function of institutional-cultural frameworks in a country. And, finally, quantitative-econometric research on the impact of cultural factors on, for example, urban and regional growth can be found in Cenoz et al. (2008) and Osaba (2008).

An interesting example of urban cultural studies is described in a paper by Cenoz et al. (2007) on ‘What is in the signs of a main shopping street’. This is a particularly interesting statistical application in the framework of socio-cultural research. The question which factors are decisive for the use of a specific language in a shopping street (e.g. local dialect, national language or English) is determined by many factors, partly of a local-cultural nature, partly of a general economic nature (e.g. local orientation of a shop, member of a franchise organization, type of shop, etc.). Discrete choice models dealing with categorical variables can then be used to identify the drivers of the nomenclature in a shopping street. Clearly, this is a complex field of research, as many underlying explanatory factors are at stake here, such as the interaction between supply and demand, the type of visitors, the possible emergence of spatial externalities (to be dealt with by using spatial autocorrelation methods), the existence of a broader set of intervening cultural variables, etc.

This type of research calls for a broader orientation in the field of cultural dynamics, with a focus on: citizenship and identity; creative activities and innovation; intermediality; the impact of popular culture; and the interface between traditional societal perspectives and open attitudes regarding modern cultures. Against this background, cities have always been meeting places of people with different cultures, education and talents. The modern city is an open 'agora', where ideas from a diversity of cultures and nations come together. The major challenge for a modern city will be to turn possible tensions in such a multicultural 'agora' into positive synergetic energy. However, the main scientific challenge is whether it is possible to identify and measure such synergetic values associated with cultural diversity.

Multiculturalism – often mentioned in relation to integration – as an official national policy was adopted from the 1970s onward in several nations such as Canada, Australia, and several Member States of the European Union. Although official policy often states that cultural diversity enriches a society, history has shown that newcomers or minority groups have not always been regarded from this positive perspective. In recent years, even a reverse trend in various national policies – or in policy debates – and the first signs of a return to monoculturalism can be observed in several European countries. Therefore, diversity and multiculturalism have become the most critical issues in the social and political debate.

The crucial questions in this debate are: (i) whether diversity is 'good' or 'bad' for economic growth and productivity from an economic perspective, and for social capital and social cohesion from a sociological perspective; and (ii) whether a culturally diversified society is more or less economically efficient than a culturally homogeneous one. Although these issues have politico-ideological dimensions, they clearly have also an important empirical economic meaning. Both positive and negative implications of diversity have been addressed by many researchers from different perspectives (Alesina and La Ferrara, 2005; Bellini et al., 2008; Collier, 2001; de Graaff and Nijkamp, 2010; Grillo, 2004; Herring, 2009; Hooghe et al., 2006; O'Reilly et al., 1998; Ottaviano and Peri, 2006a,b; Putnam 2007; Quigley, 1998; Vertovec, 2007).

It is noteworthy that various studies provide contradictory empirical results; the answer is not obvious and equally 'two-sided'. On the one hand, diversity creates potential benefits for production and innovation (Lazear, 1999; O'Reilly et al., 1998; Ottaviano and Peri, 2006a,b), while, on the other hand, diversity generates potential costs (Abadie and Gardeazabal 2003; Alesina et al., 1999; Alesina et al., 2004). Several recent studies have provided some new evidence on the positive implications of diversity. The results of these studies demonstrate that diversity: is associated with increased sales revenues, more customers, greater market share and higher relative profits in many companies (Herring, 2009); is positively correlated with productivity in many countries (Bellini et al., 2008; D'Amuri et al., 2008; Manacorda et al.,

2007; Ottaviano and Peri, 2006a,b); contributes to job creation and economic growth in many countries (GEM, 2004; OECD, 2006); and provides useful resources for the creative industries and stimulates new ideas and cross-cultural cooperation for cultural production (Bagwell, 2008; Evans, 2009; GLA, 2007; Merkel, 2008; Musterd and Deurloo, 2006; Smallbone et al., 2005).

An overall evaluation demonstrates that socio-cultural diversity rather than uniformity appears to induce both cultural vitality and economic success. Diversity has a positive effect on creativity, innovation and performance at different scales, from company or organization to city, region or country. The reason is that being linked to creative activities offers a major source of competitiveness for multicultural cities, as it not only stimulates creative ideas and facilitates creative activities but also assists the cities' efforts to boost their international profile, attracting investment and a well-educated, creative workforce. And therefore, cultural diversity tends to contribute to the improvement of the creative capacities of cities and regions. In the next two sections, we briefly outline the broader societal and economic implications of cultural diversity.

6. Impacts of Cultural Diversity

6.1 Economic implications

Diversity is often instigated and favoured by migration. The impact of migration in the receiving and sending countries is an important debate in migration studies. The migration literature has addressed in particular the following questions from the perspective of economics: What is the impact of migration on welfare in the receiving and sending countries? Under which circumstances will the recipient or the sender lose or benefit from migration? Is migration a substitute or a complement for trade and capital flows?

The literature shows that the impact of migration on welfare in the receiving and sending countries depends heavily on the flexibility of labour markets. The labour market impact of migration has been examined in a large number of econometric studies in Europe and elsewhere. These studies rely on a cross-section of either regions or branches, and use variations in the migrant density in order to identify the impact of migration on wages and employment. The results of these studies show that migration is often rather neutral for the wages and employment of the native population in the receiving countries. For a recent survey of findings, we refer to Baycan-Levent (2010).

A recent study by Boeri and Brücker (2005) shows that international migration in Europe can significantly increase income per capita in Europe. They have estimated that at the given wage and productivity gap between Western and Eastern Europe, a migration of 3 per cent of the Eastern population to the West could increase total EU GDP by up to 0.5 per cent. Other studies show that immigration from the South to the North greatly enhances development in the South,

partly because of remittances from immigrants to their families back home and partly because of the transfer of technology and new ideas through immigrant networks (Pritchett, 2006; World Bank, 2005). In short, immigration and multicultural diversity tend to have powerful advantages for both sending and receiving countries.

From an economic point of view, the key question is whether a culturally-diversified society is more or less efficient than a culturally homogeneous one. Again, the answer is not obvious and equally ‘two-sided’. On the one hand, cultural diversity creates potential benefits by increasing the variety of goods, services and skills available for consumption, production and innovation (Lazear, 1999; O’Reilly et al., 1998; Ottaviano and Peri, 2006a,b). On the other hand, cultural diversity generates potential costs, as it may entail racism and prejudices resulting in open clashes and riots (Abadie and Gardeazabal, 2003), as well as conflicts of preferences leading to a suboptimal provision of public goods (Alesina et al., 1999; Alesina et al., 2004). Tables 1 and 2 offer a systematic review of the literature on the positive and negative economic effects of cultural diversity.

Although the results of some studies point out some negative economic effects of diversity, in many cases, as can also be seen from Table 2, it is observed that these negative effects depend largely on some features such as people’s education and income level, as well as the political regime of the country. In a competitive labour market, those people that have less education and income would suffer more negatively from diversity. However, the results of recent studies provide new evidence about the positive economic effects of diversity on productivity in many European countries, as well as in the United States (Table 1).

6.2 *Social implications*

A major research question from a social point of view concerns the consequences of rising diversity for social cohesion. The effects of diversity on social connectivity, in general, have been described from two opposite perspectives: the ‘contact hypothesis’ and ‘conflict theory’ (for a general evaluation of these perspectives, see Putnam, 2007). The contact hypothesis argues that diversity fosters inter-ethnic tolerance and social solidarity: in other words, diversity reduces ethnocentric attitudes and fosters out-group trust or bridging social capital. Conflict theory, on the other hand, argues that diversity fosters out-group distrust and in-group solidarity or bonding social capital, thus increasing ethnocentrism. Conflict and contact theories share only one assumption: that in-group trust and out-group trust are negatively correlated. However, Putnam (2007) suggests another theory, called ‘constrict theory’, which refers to the possibility that diversity might actually reduce both in-group and out-group solidarity – that is, both bonding and bridging social capital.

Table 1. Positive economic effects of cultural diversity

Jacobs (1961)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> diversity is the key factor for success of a city: the variety of commercial activities, cultural occasions, inhabitants, visitors as well as the variety of tastes, abilities, needs and even obsessions, constitute the engine of urban development
Sassen (1994)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a key characteristic of 'global cities' is the cultural diversity of their population
O'Reilly, Williams and Barsade (1998) Lazear (1999) Ottaviano and Peri (2006a,b)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> diversity creates potential benefits by increasing the variety of goods, services and skills available for consumption, production and innovation
Quigley (1998) Glaeser, Kolko and Saiz (2001)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the diversity of available consumption goods and services is one of the attractive features of cities
Florida (2002) Gertler, Florida, Gates and Vinodrai (2002)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> diversity and different impressions in the working and living environment of people stimulates innovation and economic growth diversity contributes to attract knowledge workers thereby increasing the creative capital of cities and the long-term prospects for knowledge-based growth
GEM (2004) OECD (2006)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> migration and diversity contribute to job creation and economic growth in many countries net job creation was over 5 million in Spain, 2.5 million in France, 2.1 million in Italy, 1.9 million in the UK and 1.3 million in the Netherlands in the United States, net job creation over the period of 1999-2004 was over 15.5 million jobs, of which 9 million were occupied by persons born abroad immigrants contributed to and benefitted from over 30 per cent of net job creation in the UK, whereas the percentage was 20 per cent in Spain, the Netherlands, Portugal, Italy, and Sweden
Alesina and La Ferrara (2005)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> diversity has a negative effect on population growth in initially poor counties and a less negative (or positive) effect in initially richer counties
Boeri and Brücker (2005)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> international migration can significantly increase income per capita in Europe; migration of 3 per cent of the Eastern population to the West could increase total EU GDP by up to 0.5 per cent
Ottaviano and Peri (2006 a, b)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> on average, US-born citizens are more productive in a culturally diversified environment the effects of immigration on the average wages of the native population are positive and rather large the effect is particularly strong for the most educated (college graduates) and negative for the least educated (high-school drop-outs) richer diversity is indeed associated with higher wages and productivity of the native population
Manacorda, Manning and Wadsworth (2007)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> diversity is positively correlated with productivity in the UK
D'Amuri, Ottaviano and Peri (2008)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> diversity is positively correlated with productivity in Germany
Bellini, Ottaviano, Pinelli and Prarolo (2008)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> diversity is positively correlated with productivity across EU countries
Herring (2009)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> diversity is linked to positive outcomes in business organizations, diversity is associated with increased sales revenues, more customers, greater market share, and greater relative profits in many companies in the US

Table 2. Negative economic effects of cultural diversity

Borjas (1995 and 2003)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a negative impact of immigrants on the wages of natives
Borjas (1994 and 2003) Borjas, Freeman and Katz (1997)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a negative impact of immigrants on the relative wages of less educated workers
Easterly and Levine (1997)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> richer diversity is associated with slower economic growth
Collier (2001)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> diversity has negative effects on productivity and growth in non-democratic regimes
Angrist and Kugler (2003)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> negative impact of migration on employment levels in the EU
Alesina and La Ferrara (2005)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> increases in ethnic diversity are associated with lower growth rates going from perfect homogeneity to complete heterogeneity would reduce a country's yearly growth performance by 2 per cent diversity has a more negative effect at lower levels of income diversity has a negative effect on population growth in initially poor counties, and a less negative (or positive) effect in initially richer counties

Diversity might cause feelings of threat and increased negative out-group orientations. A number of studies suggest that increasing social diversity could have detrimental effects on social cohesion in Western societies. Table 3 offers a systematic review of these studies on the social effects of cultural diversity. Their main argument is that, in more diverse societies, generalized trust is more difficult to foster, resulting in a loss of sense of community and togetherness.

Table 3. Social effects of cultural diversity

Alesina, Baqir and Easterly (1999) Abadie and Gardeazabal (2003) Alesina, Baqir and Hoxby (2004)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> cultural diversity generates potential costs, as it may entail racism and prejudices resulting in open clashes and riots, as well as conflicts of preferences leading to a suboptimal provision of public goods
Alesina, Glaeser and Sacerdote (2001)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> higher diversity is associated with lower levels of social spending and social transfers by the government
Alesina and La Ferrara (2002)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> diversity might cause feelings of threat and increased negative out-group orientations; in more diverse societies generalized trust is more difficult to foster, resulting in a loss of sense of community and togetherness; increasing social diversity could have detrimental effects on social cohesion in Western societies
Alesina, Devleschawuer, Easterly, Kurlat and Wacziarg (2003)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> diversity is negatively correlated with measures of infrastructure quality, illiteracy and school attainment, and positively correlated with infant mortality higher levels of diversity might result in suboptimal decisions on public good provisions, consequently damaging the growth performance in the long run
Boeri and Brücker (2005)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> attitudes towards migrants in the EU-15 demonstrate that migration is perceived as a threat mainly for those with primary or lower educational attainments, and low incomes, and for the prime-aged employees
Hooghe, Reeskens, Stolle and Trappers (2006)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> diversity is perceived negatively for social cohesion at the individual level; most of the familiar relations between individual characteristics and trust and ethnocentrism were confirmed across Europe: men, older people, the low-educated and unemployed are more ethnocentric and less trusting at the country level hardly any indicators for migration or diversity proved to be significantly related to social cohesion it is difficult to sustain the theory that ethnic diversity affects social cohesion negatively within Europe: for Europe ethnic diversity cannot be considered as a threat for the maintenance of social cohesion
Putnam (2007)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> in more diverse communities, people trust their neighbours less poverty, crime and diversity are themselves interrelated in the US ethnocentric trust is completely uncorrelated with ethnic diversity in contemporary America diversity seems to trigger not in-group/out-group division, but anomie or social isolation: peoples living in ethnically diverse settings appear to 'hunker down' – that is, retreat into their shell young immigrant workers (documented and undocumented) contribute financially to the Social Security system in the US

This view is also reflected in the results of some surveys at the EU level such as the European Social Survey¹ and the Public Opinion Survey/Eurobarometer², based on the

¹ The European Social Survey (ESS) is an academically-driven social survey designed to chart and explain the interaction between Europe's changing institutions and the attitudes, beliefs and behaviour patterns of its diverse

perceptions of different groups for migration policies. In combining these two surveys, Boeri and Brücker (2005) have evaluated the nature and evolution over time of attitudes towards migrants in the EU-15. The results of their evaluation demonstrate that migration is perceived as a threat mainly for those with primary or lower educational attainments, and low incomes, and for the older employees.

However, recent studies from the US and Europe (Putnam, 2007; Hooghe et al., 2006) provide some opposite evidence about how diversity affects social capital and social cohesion. So, how does diversity (and by implication, immigration) affect social capital? The results of a large nation-wide survey, the Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey (carried out in 2000, with a total sample size of roughly 30,000) in the US (Putnam, 2007), support the above-mentioned constrict theory. According to the results of this survey: (i) in more diverse communities, people trust their neighbours less; (ii) in more diverse settings, Americans distrust not merely people who do not look like them, but even people who do; (iii) ethnocentric trust is completely uncorrelated with ethnic diversity; (iv) diversity seems to trigger not in-group/out-group division, but anomie or social isolation; (v) people living in ethnically-diverse settings appear to ‘hunker down’ – that is, to retreat into their shell.

In areas of greater diversity, the respondents of the above-mentioned survey demonstrate also: (i) lower confidence in local government, local leaders, and the local news media; (ii) lower political efficacy – that is, confidence in their own influence; (iii) lower frequency of registering to vote, but more interest and knowledge about politics, and more participation in protest marches and social reform groups; (iv) less expectation that others will cooperate to solve dilemmas of collective action; (v) less likelihood of working on a community project; (vi) lower likelihood of giving to charity or volunteering; (vii) fewer close friends and confidants; (viii) less happiness and lower perceived quality of life; (ix) more time spent watching television, and more agreement that ‘television is my most important form of entertainment’.

The results of this US survey demonstrate that age (younger people are less trusting), ethnicity (blacks and Hispanics are less trusting) and economic class (the educated, the well-off, and homeowners are most trusting) are important variables at the individual level. Several contextual variables such as poverty (less trust among inhabitants of poorer neighbourhoods), crime (less trust in high-crime areas) and ethnic diversity (less trust among inhabitants of ethnically heterogeneous neighbourhoods) are also of importance. The results also demonstrate that poverty, crime, and diversity are themselves interrelated in the US. Thus, new evidence from

population. ESS was first carried out in 2002-2003 in 22 countries of the EU, and contains a large section (about 50 questions) on attitudes towards migrants.

² The Eurobarometer is a public opinion survey which has been carried out by Gallup for the European Commission since 1970, involving the members of the EU at any date and including, at broadly three-year intervals, a number of questions on migration.

the US suggests that in ethnically-diverse neighbourhoods residents of all races tend to 'hunker down'. Trust (even of one's own race) is lower, altruism and community cooperation rarer, friends fewer. These results show that diversity does not produce 'bad race relations', but rather that the inhabitants of diverse communities tend to withdraw from collective life. On the basis of these results, as Putnam (2007) highlights, diversity, at least in the short run, seems to bring out the turtle in all of us.

An overall evaluation suggests that the negative effects of diversity observed in both economic and the social arena largely depend on individual characteristics such as age, education, and income level. Lower educational attainments, low incomes and unemployment are associated with the perception of negative implications of diversity. However, at the country level, diversity is associated with higher productivity and economic growth, and there is no clear evidence that diversity has a negative impact on social cohesion.

7. Diversity and Creativity

The relationship between diversity and creativity has been investigated by many researchers in different disciplines, from socio-economic, cultural and psychological perspectives. In these studies, diversity has been analysed in terms of demographic attributes (age, sex, ethnicity) and cognitive (knowledge, skills, abilities) aspects, in order to explain whether it has a positive or negative effect on performance, creativity and innovation (Bechtoldt et al., 2007; Herring, 2009). Many studies of collective creativity (teams, organizations) find that diversity fosters creativity. The results of research on heterogeneity in groups suggest that diversity offers both a great opportunity for organizations and an enormous challenge. Compared with less-diverse groups, more-diverse groups have the potential to consider a greater range of perspectives – people with different backgrounds have more diverse and novel ideas, as well as different points of view – and to generate more high quality and innovative solutions – in order to solve group conflicts and to consider all aspects. In brief, while diversity leads to the contestation of different ideas, more creativity, and superior solutions to problems, it turns out that, in contrast, homogeneity may lead to greater group cohesion but less adaptability and innovation. Recent research by Herring (2009) suggests that diversity is linked to positive outcomes in business organizations. The results of the study based on data obtained from 250 representative companies in the United States show that diversity (racial and gender) is associated with increased sales revenue, more customers, greater market share, and greater relative profits.

Creativity in general seems to be enhanced by immigration and cultural diversity. Table 4 provides a review of the literature on diversity and creativity. Diversity and different impressions

in the working and living environment of people stimulates innovation and economic growth (Florida, 2002). According to the ‘International Migration Outlook’ published by the OECD (2006), there has been a relatively sharp increase in employment in several OECD countries, while immigrants have contributed to job creation in many countries. Net job creation was over 5 million in Spain, 2.5 million in France, 2.1 million in Italy, 1.9 million in the UK, and 1.3 million in the Netherlands. In the United States, net job creation over the period of 1999-2004 was over 15.5 million jobs, of which 9 million were occupied by persons born abroad. Immigrants contributed to and benefitted from over 30 per cent of net job creation in the UK, whereas the percentage was 20 per cent in Spain, the Netherlands, Portugal, Italy and Sweden. According to another report, ‘Global Entrepreneurship Monitor United Kingdom’ (GEM, 2004), UK ethnic minorities lead on entrepreneurship. The report states that the UK has Europe’s most entrepreneurial economy and that people from ethnic minorities make a large and important contribution to the success of the UK economy (for a comprehensive evaluation of migrant entrepreneurship in Europe, see Baycan-Levent and Nijkamp, 2010). On the other hand, the contributions of immigrants to job creation have not remained limited to ethnic niches and markets, but they have enlarged their market, oriented to new sectors other than traditional ones, and become more active in producer services and creative industries. The results of recent studies show that a growing number of second-generation migrant entrepreneurs and an orientation to non-traditional sectors have become the new trends in migrant entrepreneurship (Baycan-Levent et al., 2009; Ram and Smallbone, 2001; Rusinovic, 2006; Smallbone et al., 2005). Generational change is also contributing to this transformation, and the second generation has contributed to the emergence of new areas of immigrant business activity, such as business and professional services, Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs), and the creative industries.

Table 4. Cultural diversity and creativity

Cohen and Fields (1999) Saxenian (2002) Evans (2009)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a large migrant population in the US (37 per cent foreign-born), including first- and second-generation Hispanic (25 per cent of the population) and Vietnamese, service the knowledge economy in Silicon Valley
Ram and Smallbone (2001) Smallbone, Berlotti and Ekanem (2005) Rusinovic (2006) Baycan-Levent, Nijkamp and Sahin (2009)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a growing number of second-generation migrant entrepreneurs have contributed to the emergence of new areas of immigrant business activity such as business and professional services, Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) and the creative industries
Florida (2002) Gertler, Florida, Gates and Vinodrai (2002)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> diversity and different impressions in peoples’ working and living environment stimulates innovation and economic growth diversity contributes to attract knowledge workers thereby increasing the creative capital of cities and the long-term prospects for knowledge-based growth
Saxenian (2002) Bathelt, Malmberg and Maskell (2004) Evans (2009)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> innovation is enabled by a different form of imported (social) capital in terms of tacit knowledge transfer and the ‘brain gain’
Smallbone, Berlotti and Ekanem (2005) Musterd and Deurloo (2006)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> cultural diversity provides useful resources for the creative industries and stimulates new ideas and cross-cultural cooperation for cultural production

GLA (2007) Bagwell (2008) Merkel (2008) Evans (2009)	
Americans for the Arts (2005)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • cultural diversity provides sources for creative expression that are increasingly being harnessed by players in the creative industries • a majority of New York's designated creative and cultural industry workers originated from outside the State
Smallbone, Berlotti and Ekanem (2005)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • notably Asians tend to move from the less profitable sectors such as retail and clothing, with which they have traditionally been associated, to higher value-added areas in creative industries in London
Evans (2006) GLA (2007)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the proportion of Black and ethnic minority workers employed in London's creative sector is half their share in the city population as a whole • 15 per cent of creative employees are from Black and minority ethnic communities in London
Musterd and Deurloo (2006)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • migrants from Western countries are often linked to the increasing internationalization of the economy and they have a prominent role in the 'cultural industries', particularly in the advertising sector in Amsterdam
Ottaviano and Peri (2006 a) Putnam (2007)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • in the US, compared with native-born Americans, immigrants have accounted for three to four times as many of America's Nobel Laureates, national Academy of Science members, Academy Award film directors and winners of Kennedy Center awards in the performing arts • in the last ten years, out of the 47 US-based Nobel Laureates in Chemistry, Physics and Medicine, 25 per cent (14 Laureates) were not US-born
Bechtoldt, De Dreu and Nijstad (2007) Herring (2009)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • diversity has a positive effect on performance, creativity and innovation • many studies of collective creativity (teams, organizations) find that diversity fosters creativity • compared with less-diverse groups, more-diverse groups have the potential to consider a greater range of perspectives – people with different backgrounds have more diverse and novel ideas as well as different points of view – and to generate more high-quality and innovative solutions – in order to solve group conflicts and to consider all aspects • while diversity leads to contestation of different ideas, more creativity, and superior solutions to problems, in contrast, homogeneity may lead to greater group cohesion but less adaptability and innovation
Merkel (2008)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 4 per cent of all ethnic business are estimated to be in the culture industries – in the field of culture, sport and entertainment – in Berlin
Bagwell (2008) Merkel (2008) Evans (2009)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ethnic diversity can provide useful resources to the creative industries, and stimulate new ideas and cross-cultural cooperation for cultural production

Cultural diversity provides sources for creative expression that are increasingly being harnessed by players in the creative industries. According to the the report on the creative industries by Americans for the Arts (2005), a majority of New York's designated creative and cultural industry workers originated from outside the State. A large migrant population in the US (37 per cent foreign-born), including first- and second-generation Hispanic (25 per cent of the population) and Vietnamese, service the knowledge economy in Silicon Valley (Cohen and Fields, 1999; Evans, 2009; Saxenian, 2002). The results of a case study in London (Evans 2006) show that the proportion of black and ethnic minority workers employed in London's creative sector is half their share in the city population as a whole and, according to London's Creative Sector Report (GLA 2007), 15 per cent of creative employees are from black and minority ethnic

communities. The results of another study conducted in London (Smallbone et al. 2005) show that notably Asians tend to move from the less profitable sectors such as retail and clothing, with which they have traditionally been associated, to higher value-added areas in the creative industries. In Amsterdam, migrants from other Western countries are often linked to the increasing internationalization of the economy, and they have a prominent role in the 'cultural industries', particularly in the advertising sector (Musterd and Deurloo, 2006). In Berlin, 4 per cent of all ethnic businesses are estimated to be in culture industries – in the field of culture, sport and entertainment – and the results of a recent study indicate a growing participation of Turkish entrepreneurs in Berlin's creative industries as hiphop singers and in productions that have developed over the last 10 years. The results of the study show that they have built up their own record labels and distribution structures, promoted new talent, and, finally, have become professional music businesses (Merkel, 2008). As can be seen from these examples, ethnic diversity can provide useful resources for the creative industries and stimulate new ideas and cross-cultural cooperation for cultural production. However, the results of many studies show also that ethnic minorities are heavily underrepresented in the creative industries, and that the same structural patterns of inequality by gender, age and ethnicity which are present in other labour markets are also observed in the creative industries sector (Bagwell, 2008; Evans, 2009; Merkel, 2008).

Another interesting fact has been observed in the composition of Nobel Laureates and winners of awards in different fields. In the US, compared with native-born Americans, immigrants have accounted for three to four times as many of America's Nobel Laureates, National Academy of Science members, Academy Award film directors and winners of Kennedy Center awards in the performing arts (Putnam, 2007). In the last ten years, out of the 47 US-based Nobel Laureates in Chemistry, Physics and Medicine, 25 per cent (14 Laureates) were not US-born. During the same time period the share of foreign-born in the general population was on average only 10 per cent (Ottaviano and Peri, 2006a).

These facts and figures demonstrate that diversity has, in general, a positive effect on creativity, innovation and performance at different scales – from team or organization to city/region and society – and in different fields – from the arts to science and technology. It is obvious that innovation is enabled by a different form of imported (social) capital in terms of tacit knowledge transfer and 'brain gain' (Bathelt et al., 2004; Evans, 2009; Saxenian, 2002), and that immigration plays a crucial role in this process.

8. Challenges for Diverse Societies

The city is the action place of a modern society. It is unparalleled in terms of agglomeration advantages (despite the existence of clear negative externalities). Cultural diversity may offer a new opportunity to achieve a balanced and maybe even accelerated urban development, provided the negative externalities involved (social stress, unemployment etc.) remain lower than the positive opportunities that are the result of a pluriform socio-cultural urban ecosystem. Urban policy has the difficult task of reconciling conflicting interests, and has to search for creative strategies to exploit the potential benefits of a pluriform urban milieu, as suggested in the present paper by the above-mentioned pentagon model. Clearly, cultural diversity may be a ‘maker’ or a ‘breaker’ of the sound development of our cities. Fortunately, we have many good examples that demonstrate that a pluriform urban culture may enhance welfare and well-being. Such role models are badly needed in a period where sometimes socio-cultural tensions may seem to overshadow the beauty of urban life.

Modern societies have increasingly become more diverse and heterogeneous, and culturally-diverse societies have become more attractive for diverse people and lifestyles. Culturally-diverse environments have also become more attractive for the creativity- and innovation-driven new economy. Culturally diverse societies are more efficient in terms of cultural vitality, and economically more successful than culturally-homogeneous societies. Diversity fosters creativity and innovation, contributes to entrepreneurship, enhances productivity, and promotes economic growth. Being linked to creative activities, diversity offers a major source of competitiveness for multicultural cities; and assists the cities’ efforts to boost their international profile, attracting investments and a well-educated, creative workforce; and, therefore, contributes to the improvement of the creative capacities of cities and regions.

Immigration is usually accompanied by cultural diversity, sometimes also called ‘multiculturalism’. This new phenomenon in Europe has prompted many debates on the advantages and disadvantages of cultural diversity. An avalanche of studies has been published in the past decades on the implications of cultural diversity. It turns out that the empirical literature contains a long list of positive diversity effects, not only on the labour market, but also on many other domains of society. Clearly, there may be significant negative effects (such as crowding-out effects, ghetto effects, or safety effects), but the overall balance tends to be highly positive, especially in those areas which attract highly-skilled migrants. Especially the long-run effects (e.g. in relation to innovativeness, creativity, cultural enrichment, and international orientation) may be significant. It seems plausible that in the long run successful multicultural societies (‘culturally integrated societies’) will create new forms of social solidarity and dampen the negative effects of diversity by constructing new, more encompassing identities.

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